"Democracy's Triumph in Alabama":

The 1930 Gubernatorial Race in Two Birmingham Newspapers

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Unlike a number of previous campaigns, the race for Alabama governor in 1930 was not decided in the Democratic Party primary. A split in the party over Al Smith's 1928 presidential candidacy reverberated beyond the traditional August primary and forced Democrats to "carry the war into every community in the state" during the general election campaign and "sink Tom Heflin, Hugh Locke and Horace Wilkinson to the bottom of the political ocean."(1)

The decade leading up to this election had been a time of convulsive change in Alabama. The state's dependence on agriculture began to ease as industrialization brought increasing population and rising personal and manufacturing income not only to Birmingham but other places, such as Selma, Gadsden and Anniston. (2) Urbanization and rising income meant people's expectations about matters like roads and education were also changing. Under the administration of Bibb Graves, elected in 1926, activist government came to Alabama. Graves managed to push through a normally tight-fisted, conservative legislature a number of bills designed to improve Alabama's roads, public health and education systems and other areas. By the time the 1930 election season arrived, "Bibb the Builder" had also managed to leave the state deep in debt just as it was entering the Great Depression. (3)

Another factor in Alabama during the 1920s and one which played an important role in several elections during the decade was the Ku Klux Klan. Revived in Atlanta in 1915 by Alabamian William J. Simmons, the hooded order began tremendous growth in the state in the early 1920s. Klan ceremonies held in Birmingham drew tens of thousands of participants and spectators; smaller cities were also sites of impressive rallies. (4) In addition to militant support of Americanism, Protestant Christianity, and what they considered good moral behavior, Klan members often supported education in a number of ways. (5) In conjunction with antiprohibition groups, such as the Anti-Saloon League, the

Alabama Klan was a formidable force "tending to weld North Alabamians into an effective political bloc." (6)

This challenge to traditional Black Belt control of Alabama politics reached its apogee in the 1926 election cycle. Klan support of Bibb Graves and Hugo Black gave those candidates unexpected victories in the gubernatorial and senatorial races. Elected to the Attorney General's post was Charles C. McCall, like Graves a member of the Montgomery Klan. (7) So many state legislators were Klan members that after the election Alabama Grand Dragon James Esdale "checked the list of new legislators and 'found that some of the members of that body' did not belong to the Klan." Esdale promptly ordered a recruiting campaign. (8)

The success of the Klan in the 1926 election put two forces traditional in Alabama political life, north Alabama hill country commoners and Black Belt Bourbon elites, on yet another collision course. Al Smith's candidacy for president in 1928 provided the opportunity for Alabama Democrats to divide loyalists from bolters, prevent the latter from running for state-wide political office on the Democratic ticket and thereby crush another north Alabama political revolt.

Al Smith's Catholicism, Tammany Hall connections and his "wet" proclivity on the liquor question caused problems for most Alabama Democrats; especially enraged were those politicians supported by the anti-Catholic, anti-liquor, highly "moral" Klan. (9) An anti-Smith, even pro-Hoover movement began to coalesce around U.S. Senator Tom Heflin; Birmingham lawyers Hugh Locke and H.L. Anderton; and "Alabama's leading race-baiter" Horace Wilkinson. (10) Hoover came within 7000 votes of Smith in Alabama; and the spectre of Republican resurgence in the state, coupled with the apostacy of the Democratic "bolters' led to calls for retribution against the offending political figures. An attempt to make the Democratic primary less favorable to block groups like the Klan by changing the second choice primary system to a runoff "double" primary failed when Lieutenant

Governor William C. Davis from Jasper cast the tie-breaker in the legislative vote. (11) Thus the expulsion of bolters appeared to be the only way for Black Belt Democrats to regain control of their party.

The expulsion movement reached a crescendo in December 1929. After months of straw polls and see-sawing alliegences the fifty-member state Democratic Executive Committee voted 27 to 21 (with two absent) on December 16 to bar those who "refused to support the Democratic ticket in full in the last general election" from running for statewide office. (12) At the meeting at the Jefferson Davis Hotel in Montgomery, Hoover voters and supporters were invited to return to the Democratic party as voters. The actual committee vote was closer than might have been expected; a straw poll only days earlier had shown expulsion favored 31 to 13 with six members undecided. (13) The vote must have pleased people like John B. Wood of Birmingham, a former executive committee member, who wrote one of his hometown papers days before the meeting, "There is no alibi for deserting the party! ... They deliberately took the action, deserted the party, and they have no excuses....Too many men have been elected to important offices simply because they were good Protestants, or good prohibitionists, or good secret order men. What we need in this state are able, conservative, competent men who are able to run the people's affairs efficiently ..." (14) Themes developed in Wood's letter were to appear over and over in both the 1930 primary and general elections.

Several men had already announced their candidacy for governor prior to the committee vote. This group included sixty-two year old William Columbus Davis, a lawyer who had lived in Jasper since 1899 and had represented Walker County in the state house from 1915 until his election as Lieutenant Governor in 1926. Although from the north Alabama hill country, and despite having cast a vote favorable to the Klan-backed forces in the legislative battle over the primary election format, Davis supported the Democratic presidential ticket in 1928 by making 48 speeches for the

party, at his own expense. In 1925 Davis had also condemned some Walker County floggings carried out by members of the Ku Klux Klan. (15)

Other candidates included Charlie C. McCall, a lawyer from Choctaw County whose only political race after a lengthy military career had put him, with the Klan's help, into the Attorney General's office. Jefferson A. Carnley, Probate Judge of Coffee County and future father-in-law of Jim Folsom, had also announced for the governor's race; and Colonel Woolsey Finnell of Tuscaloosa, Chairman of the Alabama Highway Commission, was expected to enter the race in January. A final announced candidate was Hugh Locke, Birmingham attorney, former circuit judge, and Democratic party "bolter" in 1928.

Thus the state committee's expulsion vote prevented Locke from running for an office in which he had already expressed interests, and prevented Helfin from running for re-election. Reaction from the two men was immediate. The day after the committee vote Locke called a meeting of "progressive" Democrats to be held three days later in Birmingham; he also announced that he and Heflin would run as independents in the 1930 general election. Locke's "progressive" Democrats turned out to be his county campaign managers and workers, who met on a Friday night at the Lincoln Life Building, no doubt to consider their limited options. (16)

This expulsion vote quickly divided Democrats. The Birmingham *News* wasted no time in sanctifying the action. "It is the only possible ruling which the Executive Committee could have made," the paper editorialized," if the Democratic Party in Alabama is to be maintained as a well-knit and cohesive organization functioning as its founders meant it to function." (17)

S.W. Williams from the little hill-country town of Gordo was not so generous in his letter to the same paper. He accused the "highbrows in Alabama" of long wanting to defeat Heflin and Locke. "This time we are going to see the big show," declared Williams." It's now Democrats versus Democrats... and of course there will

be blood on the moon....I tell you, we are to have hot times in the old state next year, my baby." (18) Needless to say, Williams' temperature prediction turned out to be correct.

On the night of December 18, Locke made a speech on WBRC radio in which he denounced Al Smith, Tammany Hall and "the immortal 27" of the executive committee. (19) This speech, made two days after the committee vote, opened Heflin and Locke's counterattack. Heflin returned to Alabama for a mass meeting January 3, 1930, at Birmingham Municipal Auditorium. The meeting was attended by more than 5000 people and presided over by Ben F. Ray. In his speech Locke portrayed the bolters as the party saviors." We fought in 1928 as Democrats seeking to serve their party," he said and claimed that Smith supporters in Alabama "would make a pretty mess of the prohibition law." (20) On the day of the meeting, H.L. Anderton, the Birmingham attorney who had chaired the Jefferson County anti-Smith forces in 1928 and had long been a leader in prohibition and "anti-Sunday movie forces", issued a statement "repudiating the actions and attitudes of some of his former co-laborers in the anti-Smith cause." The Birmingham *News* must have been pleased with this defection; Anderton's long statement was reprinted in a story beginning on page one. (21) Heflin also appeared at a meeting of 4000 in Montgomery in mid-February, asking the executive committee to rescind its vote and attacking "Tammany and Catholicism." (22)

Meanwhile, the race in the August 12 Democratic primary seemed to be taking shape. Watt T. Brown, state senator from Birmingham and member of the Democratic National Executive Committee, had announced his candidacy, and Col. Finnell had confirmed expectations that he would run. Two weeks before the March 1 filing deadline, Lieutenant Governor Davis outlined his platform in a newspaper interview. Davis declared himself in favor of completing the state highway system without any new taxation, in support of the primary runoff system, economical state

government, and "free textbooks in elementary grades of public schools." Davis thus aligned himself with Bibb Graves' progressive highway and education programs, but made sure to create distance between himself and the Graves' administration debt." I shall advocate and practice the most rigid economy. The tax burden of this state is heavy...But I shall not cripple the effective work of the state in matters of education, health, child welfare and the like." (23)

Davis, the best-known candidate of those who had declared, probably also considered himself the front runner. He must have been stunned when just three days before the filing deadline a new candidate, a life-long resident of the Black Belt, entered the race. In his hometown of Camden in Wilcox County, Benjamin Meek Miller declared himself a candidate for governor and in favor of chain store regulation, the primary runoff or "double primary" system and his agreement with the expulsion of Democratic party bolters. But Miller reserved most of his announcement speech for a blast at Klan rule in Alabama. Miller charged that both U.S. Senators were Klansmen, that members of the Klan and their friends controlled the legislature, and that possibly two state Supreme Court justices were or had been Klansmen. He asserted the need to renew "a government of the people, by the people and for all the people and not as we have now in Alabama, a government by, of and for the Ku Klux Klan....Many of the appointees of the governor and the employees of the state under this administration are Ku Klux Klansman." (24) His list of Klan sympathizers might also have included Hugh Locke, who had defended several Klansmen charged in the January 1926 raids on three Chinese restaurants in Birmingham. (25)

Miller, born three years before Davis, was thus the oldest candidate in the race. A lawyer, Miller had been elected judge of the Fourth Judicial Circuit in 1904 and Associate Justice of the Alabama Supreme Court in 1921. After his defeat for re-

election, he returned in 1927 to law practice with his brother in Camden until his decision to run for governor. (26)

Thus the field of candidates for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination was completed with a final surprise. Miller's entry insured a strong opponent for Davis, and the two men quickly became the leading candidates in the race. Since he was battling a political figure better-known around the state, Miller kept a busy schedule of campaign speeches during the spring and summer. In one week in June he gave thirteen talks in six days; in another week that month he spoke 22 times. (27) This pattern continued until the August 12 primary. For instance, on Monday, July 7 Miller spoke at 11 a.m. in Hamilton, 3 p.m. in Haleyville and 8 p.m. in Russellville; he gave twelve more speeches that week ending on Saturday in Valley Head and Ft. Payne. (28) His schedule the week of July 20 was similar. (29)

Miller's opening campaign speech in Monroeville on March 26 continued and expanded themes present in his announcement a month earlier. Miller "attacked the Graves administration, the influence of the Ku Klux Klan therein and pointed out that the increase of taxation and wasteful expenditures must end. He advocated the dismissal of useless state employees, enforcements of enlightened economy, extirpation of the Klan, the restoration of self-government to the people by majority rule, the abolishment of the state law enforcement department." (30) While pledging to aid education, highways, and so forth, Miller linked the Graves administration, wasteful government spending and the Ku Klux Klan into a single issue that he could use over and over in attacking not only Davis, but also McCall and Finnell. Miller accused the Colonel of "sucking the biggest teat at the Klan-ridden capitol." (31) In a May 31 speech in Tuscumbia, before a crowd of 300 who "were loud in their applause," Miller demanded. "Let's cut off all Klan money-grabbers and apply that money toward a better education for our boys and girls and toward better roads." McCall came under attack for being elected with Klan assistance,

then proceeding to prosecute Klansmen after taking office. Miller also blasted all his opponents for not defending the Democratic party from attacks by Heflin and Locke. "No one of the aspirants except myself has taken issue with Locke and Heflin charges against the party. I am fighting Heflin and Locke principles and the Ku Klux candidates who call themselves Democrats." (32)

Miller continued these attacks into the last days of the primary campaign. The former judge's first Birmingham speech on August 8 was also his final talk before the election. "We have had a government of, by and for the Klan," Miller declared in a packed Erlanger Theater, make me governor of Alabama and you will have a government of all the people, whether they kluck or not. You will not have to make a sign or symbol to enter my office." Miller also restated his support for free, nine-months school terms; free textbooks for elementary grades if the budget allowed; and attacked the Graves' administration for wasting money. "Four million dollars of federal aid money is waiting for use on Alabama roads, when matched by a like amount of our money. Where is it? The kluckers have klucked it away. The state highway money is paving the pockets of men..." (33)

Because of Miller's relentless attacks on the Klan and the Graves' administration, and his "insinuations" Davis was a Klan member, the Lieutenant Governor was forced to continually defend and distance himself from Graves. "I have never been a member of the Ku Klux Klan nor attended any of its meetings nor had any kind of agreement or understanding with it," Davis asserted in Huntsville in early June. (34) At a rally in Tuscaloosa attended by former governor William W. Brandon, Davis "denounced the charge that he is a member of or is a sympathizer of the Ku klux Klan." Davis also responded to another charge by Miller. "One man has said that I am no better Democrat than Locke," Davis said. "No man would ever say that unless he was too hungry for public office to be qualified for a public office." (35) Davis received help in responding to Miller's accusations. On July 15 at a rally in

Marengo County state senator Travis Williams defended Davis against the former judge's charges. Pointing out that Davis had refused a pay increase during his term as lieutenant governor, Williams attacked the "large salaries" Miller, Finnell and McCall received from the state. Williams claimed "they had made no efforts to cut down expenses. He stated that Miller's salary was increased three times during his term of office and that each time he had graciously received the additional amount." (36) Davis' most telling attack on Miller came in the Huntsville speech on June 3 in which he accused Miller of being silent on the Klan until Klan votes helped defeat him for re–election to the supreme court. During the height of Klan power in 1925 and 1926, Miller had been silent, according to Davis; but after his defeat and now that the Klan was a "phantom", Miller felt the need to attack. Davis also stated he had not supported Graves for governor and had nothing to do with the governor's staff appointments. (37)

About a month before the primary the "phantom" Klan made an appearance in Birmingham. About 2000 masked figures in full regalia rode in "several hundred automobiles" through Birmingham, Ensley, Bessemer and Fairfield on the night of July 17. In the Tuxedo area an effigies of communist leaders weres burned, and a cross was burned on the lawn of a communist organizers' residence. (39)

In late May the Montgomery *Advertiser* had thrown a bombshell into the primary campaign by suggesting in a pair of editorials that either Miller or Davis withdraw in order to prevent an "undesirable candidate" from winning the nomination. The *Advertiser* noted that because of the second choice primary, Graves had managed to be elected by winning less than a fifth of the votes. Both men responded angrily to this suggestion. Davis accused Miller of disregarding the party by making a last–minute entry into the race when other prominent Democrats had chosen not to run. Miller contended that, "The paramount question in this campaign [is], 'shall the Graves administration, selected by a minority of the voters in

this state, be perpetuated?'" He also claimed that all five of his opponents were either serving in Graves' administration or affiliated with it in some way. By late July Davis was accusing the *Advertiser* of making free copies in support of Miller available all over the state. "I was acceptable to the *Advertiser* until I declined to walk into its halter," Davis asserted. (40)

Despite the way in which Davis and Miller savaged each other all spring and summer, they and others also emphasized party loyalty in the face of the independent threats. At the Marengo County rally for Davis in mid-July, state senator Williams had "ended his speech with a plea to those who went astray in 1928 to come back to the party. 'This is not a day for selfish interests,'" Williams asserted. Former governor Brandon responded to the *Advertiser* editorials with a contention that "Democrats should get together and pick the best man to preserve the party in a time of dire danger." Back in June, Davis had reminded his audience in Huntsville, "The Democratic party has preserved the civilization of this state and the supremacy of the white race. I believe the solidarity and integrity of the Democratic party is the most important single result to be striven for in the present campaign." (41)

The "loyal" Democrats were reminded of the imminent danger from the independents in early July. Heflin and Locke supporters planned a major rally at Birmingham's Municipal Auditorium on Friday, July 4. Morning, afternoon and evening sessions were arranged, and a crowd of 20-25,000 expected. Loud speakers were set up in Woodrow Wilson Park to accommodate the overflow. A luncheon for the "women's division of the movement," chaired by Mrs. J.M. Hankins of Birmingham was scheduled at the Tutwiler Hotel. The meeting included development of a platform and committee resolutions to "embody the plans of the 'Jeffersonians' to 'reorganize' the Democratic party in the state." Heflin and Locke's speeches at the evening session were broadcast over radio. A committee of ninety-

two members from fifty–five counties attended to draft the platform. In a speech at the morning session before a crowd of 800-1000 people, Greenville lawyer and lieutenant governor candidate Demsey M. Powell outlined the movement's purpose. Its motive was "not to form a new party, but to reorganize the existing Democratic party along different lines." Powell also attempted to broaden the independent's appeal. "Neither should there be any question of Klan or anti–Klan, Protestant or Catholic, Jew or Gentile, but all who are willing to place the welfare of their country above every other consideration, should join in this great fight for the preservation of the true principles of the Democratic party." The organizing committee also decided not to offer state–wide candidates beyond Heflin, Locke and Powell in order to reinforce the claim that no third party was being created. (42)

Several other events enlivened the summer weeks leading up to the August 12 primary. On June 12 Watt Brown finally opened his campaign with a speech in Decatur in which he stated his support for more efficient state government, the single primary system, and bond issues to provide free textbooks in elementary grades and better roads. Brown spoke at a Thursday evening banquet at which Davis and Finnell also appeared; those candidates were "inclined to favor the double primary," as Finnell put it. The highway director also expresses the standard support for better schools and good roads and criticized "top–heavy" state government departments. (43)

In mid–July Birmingham radio station WAPI began a series of broadcasts of speeches by all gubernatorial candidates, including Hugh Locke. At this time WAPI was owned by the state and operated jointly by state colleges. Equal and free air time was given to all candidates to "acquaint the radio public with their stands on various issues." Miller's schedule, which was typical, began July 5 and included four half–hour speeches on Tuesday afternoon, late Wednesday night, early Friday evening and Saturday afternoon. (44)

On July 8 the Birmingham *News* published an editorial endorsement of a letter from Senator Hugo Black in which he urged all Democrats to vote in the upcoming primary and not listen to Heflin's appeal to "Hoovercrats of 1928" to sit out the primary. "The Black statement," the *News* concluded, "drives yet another nail in the Heflin–Locke–Williamson casket." The paper also referred to the trio as the "three Hoovercratic musketeers." (45)

In early July the *News* began a straw poll for state–wide and local candidates. Every few days the paper published ballots and cumulative vote totals. Only qualified Alabama voters could participate; ballots were checked against voter rolls. The names of Heflin, Locke and Powell did not appear in this poll. Final results, published near the end of July, showed Davis far out in front with 4893 votes, Miller second with 1267 and Finnell, McCall, Brown and Carnley trailing even further in that order. (46)

As August 12 approached and campaigns picked up speed, Attorney General McCall issued a ruling that muddied issues even further. Just days before the vote McCall ruled that voters in the upcoming primary were not legally or morally bound to support the Democratic ticket in November. Miller responded by asking his other opponents to sign a letter with him repudiating this ruling. Davis, still smarting from Miller's "groundless attacks upon me", refused to join the protests. The Birmingham *News* condemned McCall's action, noting that months earlier he had supported baring 1928 bolters from running in the August primary. (47)

The final days before the primary election saw a flurry of campaigning by all six Democratic candidates. On the Saturday night before the Tuesday vote, a band paraded through Birmingham on its way to a Davis rally in Woodrow Wilson Park. McCall appeared at a rally in Mobile's Bienville Square that night and at Woodrow Wilson Park Monday evening. Also on Monday, Brown gave a speech in Bessemer;

Finnell and Miller made radio speeches; and Carnley gave a noon speech in Andalusia. (48)

On the day before the vote Miller also ran a political advertisement, more than half a page in size, in the Birmingham *News*. The ad, which included a photograph of the candidate, was headlined "Majority Rule: It Must Be Re–Established." Two editorials from the Montgomery *Advertiser* were reprinted; one endorsed Miller, the other praised his campaign against the Klan. "Klu Kluxism does not know much, but it does know when it is in danger," the editorial declared. The ad also included a long statement by Miller, in which he concluded, "The principal issue in the campaign now closing is the question of whether the system of minority rule under which one state government is now selected shall end, shall public officers be required in the future to secure a majority of all votes cast?" Miller also made a final attack on Davis and the Klan. "It now develops at the close of the campaign that members of the Ku Klux Klan have been instructed by their political leaders to cast their votes for Lieutenant–Governor Davis for governor." (49)

The Birmingham *News* and *Age–Herald* had refused to endorse candidates in the primary adopting the latter's high–minded opinion that voters must choose" the strongest men available for the fight that is to come." (50) Thus neither paper was disappointed by Miller's win in the primary voting. The *News* declared that "Nomination of Judge Miller as the Democratic candidate for governor should insure united Democratic support. It should attract support of all independent voters." (51) Miller managed almost 10,000 more first–choice votes than Davis and about 500 fewer second–choice votes. The other four candidates, trailing far behind, did not manage together to equal Davis' total first–choice votes. Miller ran up overwhelming totals in most Black Belt counties; Davis did well in the hill counties at north Alabama. Thus each candidates "carried" their home regions of

the state. Miller managed to win by splitting the vote in Jefferson County evenly with Davis and posting large margins in most of the Black Belt. (52)

By mid–August, after the final primary results were known, Democratic loyalists began to close ranks around Miller and the party's senatorial and lieutenant governor nominees, John Bankhead, Jr. and Hugh Merrill. On the same day as the Democratic primary, independents had mass meetings in all of the state's 67 counties to name delegates to a September 1 convention in Montgomery. (53) The Birmingham *News* quickly began an assault on the independents, praising Bankhead and Miller as candidates who "appeal to Democrats who believe in party order and party authority, and who believe in each because they know that order and authority constitute the solid basis of just and stable governments." The independents were depicted as just the opposite. "Order and authority, party regularity and party discipline have little to fear from these apostles of anarchy and chaos, these disciples of ruction and riot." (54)

On August 20, 400 delegates from around the state gathered for the Republican Party's convention at the Lyric Theater in Birmingham. Although some delegates wanted a full slate of candidates named to take advantage of the "present disruption" in the Democratic party, the "names of Heflin and Locke were heard frequently on the lips of all speakers" and a plan to give them the party's unofficial support "was cut and dried before the convention." (55) The Republican convention was quickly followed by the independents' day–long meeting in Montgomery on September 1. Heflin, Locke, and Powell were formally nominated, although keynote speaker J.B. Wadsworth insisted "[W]e are not a third party–we are the dry wing of the Democratic party." Despite such disclaimers, the movement adopted an emblem, "a liberty bell in a circle, across the top of which is inscribed 'white control', beneath which are 13 stars representing the original colonies, [and] the inscription, 'Down with the 27'." At the meeting Locke outlined a thirteen–

point platform that included election of a new state Democratic Executive Committee, better education and roads, agricultural relief, and legislative reapportionment. Mrs. Arthur B. Chilton of Montgomery was named chairman of the movements women's division. (56)

The Democratic party and its press supporters waged a relentless war of words against the independents between the primary and general elections. On August 18 former governor Brandon had declared, "If the Democrats poll their strength in November the enemy will be overwhelmed." Executive committee chairman Edmund W. Pettus was confident" the Democrats will stage a battle in the general election that will make it impossible in the future for any challenge to issue to Democratic control." Editorials referred to the independent "Republicrats" who "have undertaken to destroy the party which has stood for white supremacy consistently, and without which there could be no white supremacy. The mere mouthing of the phrase by the noisemakers at Montgomery is only another instance of the flattery which Vice offers to Virture." The *Age Herald* wondered editorially whether the name for the independents should be "Republicrats" "Heflockan" or "Heflox". The *News* decided the Klan was approaching "the vanishing point" and "After it loses with Heflin, it will have reached the end of its rope in Alabama, where it is making its last bid for political power." In early October the Birmingham Trades Council issued an eleven–page report on the labor records of the candidates; half was devoted to an attack on Locke's anti—labor actions while a judge in the early 1920s. (57)

The independents fought back at every opportunity. On Friday night, September 5, Locke spoke for almost two hours before a "large crowd" at Wylam City Park. He read from an article in that day's Birmingham *News* in which Samuel F. Hobbs, Selma judge and Miller campaign manager was quoted as saying that "No self-respecting white person could stay in Alabama if Heflin and Locke were

elected." Locke responded "that statement makes my blood boil" and attacked Hobbs as a "Black Belt political leader." Locke, noting that he was the son of a Confederate veteran, also discussed reapportionment of the legislature and his support of bank inspection, since 22 banks had failed in Alabama in 1929. He also attacked Miller on several issues and the Birmingham *News*, *Age–Herald* and Montgomery *Advertiser* as the "wet press of the state." (58)

The final days of the campaign were frantic. The independents held a rally at Birmingham's Municipal Auditorium on Friday night, October 24, before a crowd estimated at 5000. Heflin predicted the independents would carry 50 counties. Locke "challenged his opponents to produce a real, constructive platform. 'But there is no platform. They put loyalty before you and talk loyalty until you get the blind staggers and won't know there is no platform.'" Locke ended the campaign with speeches in 15 cities in six days. (59)

The Democrats were no less dramatic. Former governor Brandon was so concerned he left his "sickbed" and went to Montgomery to attend a "council of war" in late October. Despite his illness Brandon also made radio speeches for the ticket. Miller, Bankhead and Hugo Black gave speeches over WAPI radio in the campaign's final week. On Friday night, October 31, Miller, Bankhead and Hugh Merrill appeared at a "giant rally" at Birmingham's Temple Theater in which the nominees emphasized "party loyalty and a continuation of Democratic and white supremacy." Bankhead announced that on election day "the Democrats of Alabama will sink Tom Heflin, Hugh Locke and Horace Wilkinson to the bottom of the political ocean." (60)

And so they did. Bankhead, Miller and Merrill, "each of whom embodies the tradition, the strength and the hope of our life," all won by large margins. Locke managed to carry only seven counties (Chambers, Chilton, Clay, Escambia, Henry, St. Clair and Winston), although he did come within 250 or less votes in several others

(Cleburne, Coosa, DeKalb, Elmore, Jackson, Macon, Randolph and Shelby). Miller polled just over 155,000 votes; Locke managed almost 96,000. Bankhead and Merrill tallied similar margins over Heflin and Powell. "Democracy's triumph in Alabama," the *News* declared, "is complete and overwhelming. It is all that any Democrat could have asked for, and much more, frankly, than many had hoped for... not everyone looked for such a landslide." (61)

J. Mills Thornton has argued that events of 1928 and 1929 which led to the expulsion of Heflin and Locke were a "demonstration that the Bourbons could still effectively discipline protestors who transgressed the borders of the status quo." Yet that battle took another year for the Bourbons to completely win. Black Belt contender Miller had to get by hill country candidate Davis and then face an unusually tough test in the November general election. After the defeat of the independents, Miller claimed that "Our legions have marched forward to victory—complete victory for a harmonious, reunited Democracy." (62)

That victory was short-lived. In 1934 Bibb Graves was re–elected governor and Roosevelt's New Deal changes in Alabama accelerated. By 1948 conservative dissatisfaction with economical and impending social changes led them to the "Dixiecrat" revolt against Truman. And there to help, having risen from the bottom of the political ocean, were Hugh Locke and Horace Wilkinson. (63) A circle of sorts had been completed—some Bourbons, who in 1930 had fought so hard against party bolters were themselves bolting less than two decades later and right there to help were some men they had fought against in 1930. Such are the ironies of Alabama's political life.

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30. Owen Dees, "A General Review of the Miller Administration 1931-1935. (M.S. thesis, Alabama Polytechnic Institute, 1936), 8.
31. Ibid., 9
32. Birmingham *News*, June 1, 1930.
33. Ibid., August 9, 1930.
34. Ibid., June 3, 1930.
35. Ibid., July 6, 1930.
36. ibid., July 16, 1930.
37. Ibid., June 3, 1930. Judge Robert B. Evans of Birmingham defended Davis by noting that Miller had been silent on Klan floggings but Davis had not. See Des, 16.

38. Ibid., July 18, 1930.
39.
40. Owen Dees, "A General Review of the Miller Administration 1931-1935. (M.S. thesis, Alabama Polytechnic Institute, 1936), 19-21; Birmingham *News*, June 5 and July 23, 1930.
41. Birmingham *News*, June 3 and 5; July 16, 1930.
42. Ibid., July 2 and 4, 1930.
43. Ibid., June 12 and 13, 1930.
44. Ibid., July 6, 1930.
45. Ibid., July 8, 1930.
46. Ibid., July 3, 6, 8, 10, 13, 16 and 24, 1930. The results for July 6 and July 13 appeared on page one of the Sunday issues.
47. Ibid., August 6 (editorial) and August 10, 1930.
48. Ibid., August 10 and 11, 1930.
49. Ibid., August 11, 1930.
50. Birmingham *Age–Herald*, August 11, 1930 (editorial).
51. Birmingham *News*, August 15, 1930.
52. Ibid., August 16 and 17, 1930.
53. Birmingham *Age–Herald*, August 12, 1930.
54. Birmingham *News*, August 17, 1930.
55. Ibid., August 17 and August 20, 1930.
56. Birmingham *Age–Herald*, September 1 and 2, 1930.
57. Ibid., September 3 and 8, 1930 (editorial); Birmingham *News*, August 18 and 19, October 3 and 5, 1930.
58. Birmingham *Age–Herald*, September 6, 1930.
59. Birmingham News, October 25 and 26, 1930.
60. Ibid., October 26 and 27, 1930; Birmingham *Age–Herald*, November 1, 1930.

61. Birmingham *Age–Herald*, November 3, 1930 (editorial); Birmingham *News*, November 5 (editorial) and 14, 1930.

62. Mills Thornton III, "Alabama Politics, J. Thomas Heflin, and the Expulsion Movement of 1929." *Alabama Review* 21 (April 1968):112; *Birmingham Age–Herald*, November 5, 1930.

63. .William D. Barnard, Dixiecrats and Democrats: Alabama Politics, 1942-1950 (University:University of Alabama Press, 1974), 50, 100, 115-116, 118-119, 138-139.

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